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# SOCIAL PROGRESS



*World Order Movement*

NOVEMBER 1944

# Contents

## Articles

Page

|  |    |
|--|----|
| New World of Faith, by <i>Phillips Packer Elliott</i> .....                      | 1  |
| One World Government Now, by <i>Charles J. Turck</i> .....                       | 2  |
| When We Come Home, by <i>Douglas Vernon</i> .....                                | 3  |
| The Ethical Nub of U. S. Postwar Policy, <i>From The Christian Century</i> ..... | 10 |
| Of One Blood, All! by <i>John Gray Rhind</i> .....                               | 13 |
| Experiment in Democracy, by <i>David Braun</i> .....                             | 14 |

## Editorial Comment

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| For Times Like These..... | 16 |
|---------------------------|----|

## World Order Movement

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Campaign Program, by <i>Cameron P. Hall</i> ..... | 18 |
|---|----|

## Significant Statement

|  |    |
|--|----|
| On World Organization for World Order..... | 20 |
|--|----|

## Sanctuary

|                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| "This Nation Under God"..... | 22 |
|------------------------------|----|

## Departments

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| The Workshop.....                    | 27 |
| Study and Action on World Order..... | 29 |
| About Books.....                     | 30 |
| Current Films.....                   | 33 |

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## Social Progress

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# SOCIAL PROGRESS

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## *New World of Faith*

*By Phillips Packer Elliott \**

*"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth." (Rev. 21:1.)*

OUR text comes from a favorite and familiar passage. It is the vision of the elderly John exiled on the Isle of Patmos, dreaming of the redeemed society. It is all summed up thus: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth." With an unashamed symbolism it describes the realm for which we all long. This dream gave John courage during his exile. It makes it possible for us to go on through these dark years.

How we are to get this new world we are not quite sure. Some insist that we must obtain and hold this new world by physical force: at the end of this war arrange the treaties as the victors desire them and then keep an army and navy adequate to enforce these terms. I do not know of any more cynical commentary on the war than this insistence that only by the instruments of war can you

maintain a permanent peace. It has never worked in the past. It will not work again. But there are many who believe it to be the only way.

There are others who believe that by some skillful plan we can adjust nation to nation, group to group, so that this new world will be ours. "Come now, and let us reason together," might be regarded as the motto of this group. It is impressive to find that one's mail is filled with letters and pamphlets suggesting the proper economic and political adjustment for the world after the war. Certainly we shall get nowhere unless we do talk things over and make every problem a matter for discussion and adjustment, but we know our own limited minds sufficiently well to realize how tenuous will be the structure which is based upon human plans alone.

There is a third group, which we try to represent, who say that the

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new world can be obtained primarily by faith. It comes as men so believe in it that its advent is irresistible. We bring into actuality that of which we dream and in which we believe. The form of things to come depends upon man's faith more than upon his arms or upon his thoughts.

Another text, therefore, must be put alongside John's glorious vision. It is the famous definition of faith found in The Epistle to the Hebrews: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," ch. 11: 1. That people hope for this new earth goes without saying. But again and again they are compelled to say, "I cannot see it." They cannot make it real, persuasive, possible. Faith, then, is to help us see it, to make it real, to give to it now not only possibility but certainty.

In other words, by faith one brings the future world into the present. By faith one lays hold upon the kind of life one desires for mankind and lives that life now. By faith one becomes identified with the values and the standards which one would like to see obtain in the world and by thus incarnating them prepares for the time when the world will receive them. Indeed one interpretation of the passage in The Revelation from which we take our text is that the "new heaven" and "new earth" are already here. This is not a dream of something to come. This is a present experience for those who

own Christ as Lord and follow in his way. You can have this kind of experience now, and someday it will become the whole world. You can seize upon the future and make it real—already, immediately—as you hold fast to your faith in the good things which you desire, and live by them each day.

For think of how the present holds within it the future. One can scarcely bear to let himself think about the hatreds that will be projected into the future by the minds and hearts of people who are living today. As their thoughts and activities move into the future years and touch the life of the world, what spirit and attitude will they bring to this new day? The greatest casualties of war are the minds and spirits that are so twisted, so hard, so cynical, so bitter that for decades the world assumes the form which their perverted spirits place upon it.

Many people quite naturally accept this as a doctrine for the hereafter. "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." We believe that in some mysterious way we are by our deeds upon earth creating the kind of abode that we shall have, the kind of fellowship that shall be ours, the kind of experiences open to us in the life beyond the veil.

However that may be, we know beyond the peradventure of a doubt that the truths that we are bringing to our minds now, the emotio

that we have in these days, will determine the future for years to come. This new world will be created either by our bitterness or by our good will; by our hate or by our love; by our cynicism or by our faith. That is why the opportunity is so great for men and women who possess Christian faith. They have it in their power to determine the character of the new heaven and the new earth.

If this seems too much credit to give to faith, think of how constantly Jesus stressed it. Again and again his concern was that men had so little of it: "O ye of little faith"! He believed that there was no limit to what might be accomplished by those who believed in the right, who placed their trust in God. He said: "You can remove mountains if you have this faith." "Anything will be possible to you." Now we know, of course, that there are orderly procedures of nature that no inner faith is going to sway or swerve. Yet who has failed to see, even in the physical, that the introduction of confidence, of trust in goodness and God, has worked that which can scarcely be described by any other word than "miraculous." And beyond the realm of the physical, in the realm of personality, how constantly faith creates the individual! Who of us can measure the degree to which his life has been created by the faith which parents and friends and associates have had in him? Who of

us can measure the creative effect upon other lives of our belief in them, of our sure confidence that they would rise to all emergencies? When we dwell in the realm of faith in one another we bring to pass that high integrity in which we believe. Faith, then, gives substance to that which we hope for. It gives evidence of that which we cannot see.

So with the world as a whole. Those who believe in good will to the end create a world of good will. Therein lies the truth, the power, of the life of Christ. It was not simply that he went about doing good. It was not just that he was a good teacher. The power of Christ lies in his faith. If he were simply a good friend and a good teacher, there might be mention of him in history books, but we would not feel the impact of his life today. What he did, however, was so to believe in the power of good will, so to trust the force of forgiveness and love, that he was prepared to go to the cross rather than repudiate them. Men have never seen before or since such complete faith in goodness and in God. And by that faith even down across these twenty centuries, he is still creating a world in that image. Who can deny that the most effective influence for the kind of world we desire is still the simple and sacrificial faith of a young Galilean, who believed with such intensity in this kind of world and who lived it with such completeness in his own life.



He died rather than give up that belief, and men still feel the creative impact of that faith upon their time and know that ultimately the new world of His faith will come.

Religion's danger, and one that has opened it up to justifiable criticism, is that it deals with pious hopes, with general and vague desires for something better than we have. But religion actually deals with things that are specific. It has missed its normal expression when it is exhausted in vague and general appeals. It tells people how to live, and how to live here and now. It urges men to place their faith in certain forms of conduct and certain attitudes of mind as contrasted with others, and by placing their faith in these high things to bring into the future world of their dreams.

Quite simply we must even in these times live in a world of good will, or we shall not create it. We must even in these times live in a world of forgiveness, or we shall not have the new and peaceful world of which we dream. We must here and now believe in men and in their capacity to grow into the divine likeness, or we shall not have at any future time the world of free and self-respecting people who can build a lasting peace. Thus we bring shape into the shapeless, and light into the darkness, of all our speculations regarding the future. Faith means laying hold now upon the things in which we believe and living them day by day.

And, finally, this means above all that we place our trust in God. Ultimately, whatever else faith may mean so far as methods and values are concerned, it means belief that there is a God and that his goodness will prevail. In other words, there are available certain indestructible materials upon which the new world may rest. That is what Paul meant by saying: "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." I do not know where people without faith in God get any hope for a new world. The materialist's conception of creation as being simply a fortuitous assembling of blind atoms and forces into this particular kind of world would inevitably lead him to believe that the new heaven and the new earth, if it comes at all, must come as simply a lucky chance. No, there are materials which are of God's making and which can be used. If these are used, the foundations and the structure of the new earth are assured. That is what our faith is for—to use these materials provided by God. We are to use forgiveness; we are to use good will; we are to use our trust in man. As we use them now, we shall be the more ready to use them in the future day when the opportunity for their expression will be even greater. Let us see now, therefore, the new heaven and the new earth. Let us dwell in it now by faith and thus we shall be doing all that we can to bring it to pass among men.

# One World Government Now

By Charles J. Turck \*

ONE difficulty in mobilizing Christian opinion behind a plan of world organization is that most Christians are not political scientists, and most political scientists do not speak as Christians. This is not a reflection on either group. The average Christian is not a scientist of any kind, and the average political scientist, like other scientists, does not claim to be acting as a Christian in estimating the values that may or may not be inherent in the political machinery he is examining or projecting. He is not concerned about values at all.

The question of the form of world organization that will follow World War II is primarily a question which political scientists are equipped to discuss. They do so according to their temperaments, some sanguine, some cynical, all striving to be objective. But the question of world organization is so tremendously important for the human race that millions of human beings are not disposed to wait until the political scientists compose their differences. They are disposed to launch out into the deep of these new political waters into which this war has plunged them, rather than to cling timidly to some overturned rowboat which the

political scientists have heretofore recommended.

## One World

The fact of the matter is that at long last this has become *one world*. It does not matter whether one wishes this were so or not. It does not matter whether one wishes to proceed carefully and logically from national policies that worked fairly well up to 1941. Things have happened since 1941 in the course of the war that establish the unbreakable unity of the world. Peoples and nations that ignore that unity are going to come to grief. We are part of a world neighborhood from which we could not escape even if we would be blind enough—and unchristian enough—to attempt it.

On one previous occasion in the Christian era the introduction of a new weapon of war compelled a political reorganization of the civilized world. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries gunpowder came to Europe through the Moslems. The kings, supported by the ever-growing towns and equipping common men with new weapons, "were able to batter down the castles of the half-independent robber knights and barons of the earlier Middle Ages and consolidate a more centralized power." Gunpowder destroyed feu-

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dalism and laid the foundation for the great nations. Political scientists had to conform their theories to a fact.

In the twentieth century so-called civilized men have devised weapons of war that make the great nation as impotent against the ravages of these instruments as the castle of a feudal lord was helpless before gunpowder and artillery. The airplane—bomber, fighter, transport—brings the world within the range of a mad Hitler. The robot bomb guarantees that in the Third World War civilian populations will be destroyed by the first group of fiends or fanatics who accumulate a store of these weapons and turn them loose aimlessly against people. This war has cost far more in civilian lives than any other. The distinction between combatants and civilians, so carefully worked out by the legalists, has been wiped out by the militarists. The next war will literally destroy whole peoples.

Intelligent people of good will the world over recognize the unity of this world, and the necessary consequence of this fact, which is that there must be no next war. They start from this premise. They know that the only method that civilized men have devised to prevent war or violent strife between nations or between groups or between individuals is the establishment of what is known as government. This government operates under some kind of charter. In more superstitious days this char-

ter was supposed to come from God and the kings ruled by divine right. Among democratic peoples this charter of government is deemed to come from agreement of the people, and government rests upon the consent of the governed. Within the framework set by the charter, the government proceeds to enact laws, to adjudicate cases according to the laws, and to enforce the laws and the decisions of the judicial bodies. This method ended, except for lawless criminals, the execution of private vengeance, the custom of dueling, and the forcible violation of the private rights which the government recognizes and guaranteed. The same method can end the strife of nations which we call war. *There is no other known method.*

In any primitive neighborhood there is usually evidence that the inhabitants were expected to fight out some of their quarrels. The cities of refuge in ancient Hebraic law protected the winner. The ordeal by battle was a recognized part of ancient Anglo-Saxon law. As the community became more civilized the scope of private vengeance was narrowed until finally it was abolished altogether. Government claims the exclusive right to employ force and promises that this force shall be used in support of the rights which it recognizes and against wrongdoers. On the world scene because of the enormity of the danger that any partial solution



ould encourage, there must be no twilight zone in which nations may will take the law into their own hands by force. The world must move at once and completely to some form of world government.

### **Pattern for World Government**

Whatever form this world government may take, it would be strange indeed if the representatives of the greatest of all democracies did not stand resolutely for a form of charter which would define the powers of the world government and the rights of individuals which that government would assume to protect, even against itself. The pattern is fixed in the American Constitution.

### *Individual Rights*

The Federal Government is a government of limited powers. These powers are limited, not only in relation to member states which have a vast reservoir of power, but also in relation to individuals, who by the first ten amendments are protected in their individual rights even against the Federal Government itself. Here is a matchless opportunity for American influences to write into the political framework of the world a declaration of the rights of human beings that would place these rights beyond the reach of any political power to infringe them, including the world power itself. Nor should Americans be slow to advocate for all human beings the same great rights

which we claim for ourselves—freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press; freedom of assembly; the right to petition for the redress of grievances; freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures and from trials not in conformity with the law.

That any such declaration of rights would be immediately and gladly welcomed by all our Allies and the neutrals is not to be expected. A great and powerful Church does not believe in religious freedom, except in a land where it is in the minority. A great and powerful Allied nation would not care to guarantee an unrestricted right to petition for the redress of grievances. A hundred thousand American lives have been lost in a war which America entered to establish the Four Freedoms, because we did not believe that the world could exist half free and half totalitarian. American voices should be raised without apology for the freedoms which these men died to sustain.

The machinery of world government is less important than the purpose. Let the purpose be understood; the form of the government could be worked into practicable shape by the political scientists and by experience. But the purpose is the dynamic thing—the outlawry of war and the exaltation of those basic rights which human beings enjoy because they are human beings.

The powers which a world govern-  
(Continued on page 21)

# When We Come Home

By Douglas Vernon \*

*A veteran of the South Pacific speaks frankly to the Church at home of its opportunity and responsibility to the men and women who have given without reserve in the service of country.*

**M**EN and women now with our Armed Forces are fully capable of expressing their own ideas about rehabilitation to civilian life. They, beyond any civilians, know their own desires and needs. Therefore, a Church with a democratic tradition such as is the distinguished heritage of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., should be foremost in letting its returning service men and women be represented on all committees that make plans for the rehabilitation period.

Important as the postwar planning is it should be viewed from a realistic perspective. Specifically, it should be borne in mind that the building of the peace is not a greater struggle than winning the victory has been. We, in the service, have hazarded our very lives against the enemy in battle. It will not be impressive if those who ran no such risks speak of the greater challenge that victory will bring us.

Furthermore, we of the Armed Forces and our families, who have literally shed blood, sweat, and tears in the struggle, are convinced that our sacrifices have not been in vain.

\* Lieut. (Ch.C.) USNR, now Executive Secretary of the New York Auxiliary of the Navy Relief Society.

We know beyond the shadow of a doubt that the hideous evil of the enemy's threat is being overcome. Therefore, history through this war has not been a futile cycle. Service personnel, then, do not want to hear Church leaders calling us back where we were in 1941. The tide of tomorrow will not break on the old shore lines of yesterday, but on new ones.

## Influence of Service Experience

Living has been a mighty educational experience for most men and women in the service. Throughout their duty they have at times been obliged to put up with circumstances that they never voluntarily would have chosen. Thus they have borne frustrations and have done difficult jobs successfully. The Church cannot assume that these men and women have a greatly increased understanding of the meaning of bearing a cross.

As never before service men and women have been ordered to the far horizons of the globe. Their travel has shown them the world community and, everywhere, the Church at work. The Church, henceforth, has a ripe opportunity to speak to them of the Church's world mission.



Indeed, any Church without worldwide outreach will be too restricted and provincial to hold the interests of men and women who truly have seen the world and made friends in distant lands.

Through their experience these men and women have been forced to realize that life is not a matter of possessions. Any person who has had to travel under the restrictions of combat gear knows with how very little a person can live, work, and fight. In the areas of battle he has discovered how impotent human will and strength can be. Because of these experiences the Church can speak to these men and women more persuasively than ever before concerning the life of the spirit.

The inevitable deprivations of service life have greatly heightened in men and women appreciation of home. In this respect the Church can count on widespread response from service personnel to every program that exalts and enriches family and home life. Church leaders can take advantage of this not only within the church edifices themselves but also in sponsoring activities that reach into homes.

Finally, the Church should recognize that service men and women have had unique experiences which no civilians can adequately appreciate. These men and women, to their dying day, will have a legitimate desire and need for a continuing fellowship wherein alone they

can share recounting and interpretation of war experiences. They will respond to the Churches that provide from time to time for such service reunions.

### Expectations When We Return

Service men and women regardless of rate or rank have grown accustomed to having their basic needs provided for by the Government. Whether it be food, clothes, shelter, or medical care the Government has most successfully taken care of all these needs. We do not want to come home and witness again the paradoxical presence of millions of underprivileged and even destitute people in the world's wealthiest nation. Therefore, let the Church continue its leadership in building a society wherein for all citizens there shall be provision of the minimum essentials of men, women, and children for decent living. Thousands of GI's have seen in countries like New Zealand that such provision is feasible in time of peace as well as in war.

Life in camp, aboard ship, and especially in theaters of war has revealed the availability of spiritual resources ministered without regard to ecclesiastical technicalities. God's presence with his healing, guiding, and strengthening has been experienced without a vested priest, apart from consecrated sanctuary, and within a mixed gathering where

*(Continued on page 24)*

# *The Ethical Nub of U. S. Postwar Policy*

*From THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY \**

IT IS probable that the United States will enter the postwar world in utter confusion unless a prior question can be thrust into the current discussion over our postwar policy. And it is highly improbable that this question will even be raised unless the Christian Church raises it. It is a question which lies behind and below all the controversy over nationalism, sovereignty, security, international organization, and the mode and degree of this country's co-operation in the prevention of a third world war. Until this prior question is asked and faced, the controversy over the foreign policy planks in the platforms of the two political parties will be only so much fustian and shadowboxing.

The question has to do with the national will. Any postwar plan will come to ultimate frustration unless the national will is consciously and intelligently motivated by a fundamental ethical decision. So far no such ethical decision has been explicitly demanded by our political leaders. The whole discussion has therefore become warped and deadlocked over verbalisms such as "sovereignty," "isolationism," and "policing the world." The political ideology in which the problem of the

postwar world has been expressed has not taken account of the moral basis upon which this country's participation in a world order of any kind must rest. Important as it is that peace plans should be matured now, it is far more important that the nation be brought to a decision on the prior question of its willingness to pay the price which must be paid if even the best of plans for a new world order are not to end in collapse, frustration, and another war.

## I

World peace is going to cost America something. But all the political controversy goes on the assumption that peace will not and must not cost this country anything. Our sovereign independence must not be tampered with. Our absolute freedom of action in any situation that may arise must not be embarrassed by any commitment. Our security must be kept in our own hands and assured by our own might. Above all, our economic standard of living must not be jeopardized by abandoning any of the artificial supports which have isolated our economy from our apparent advantage and the clear disadvantage of other peoples.

We cannot hope to have a peaceful world on such assumptions. Peace will have to be paid for. And t

\* An editorial from the issue of August 9, 1944. Condensed and reprinted with permission.



United States will have to pay more for it than any other country. Our favored position in the world of nations makes this inescapable. Yet our political leaders and their parties do not tell us this fundamental truth. They tell us that if we accept their plans we shall be able to eat our cake and have it too. This is sheer self-deception. The decisive question to be faced is this: Is peace worth the price?

What is the price of peace? Let the answer be in terms of our own country, though it is the same for all countries: The United States must reorient its national will to the rest of the world that its domestic policies shall be determined not alone by its apparent national interest but also by the effect of its policies upon the welfare of other peoples. Stated more colloquially, this means that every nation, including our own, must be willing to "take potluck" with the rest of the world. Commitment to, and the prudent but sincere practice of, this principle is the price of peace. Until we are ready to pay that price, all our peace talk is just that—talk. It deceives nobody but ourselves.

Here we have the ethical nub of the whole postwar problem. It says nothing at all about methods and plans. Instead, it challenges the nation's will, and thereby provides a criterion by which every proposed method and plan may be critically examined and intelligently adopted or rejected. If

the United States is unwilling to orient its domestic and foreign policies in a world frame, the people should be challenged to say so. No doubt their present prevailing attitude is one of unwillingness, but for the most part that unwillingness to go "all out" with the world is an unexamined presupposition which their political leaders and economic planners insist upon keeping out of sight and unexamined.

Among politicians, Henry Wallace is a striking exception. Wendell Willkie is another. These two men have more nearly touched the live nerve of the ethical issue which lies below the surface of all our controversy over peace plans than any other leaders of equal prominence. Their fate at the hands of the Roosevelt Administration and the Republican Party, respectively, is now history. Their offense was that they "went too far." That is, they came nearer challenging the nation to make a fundamental decision on the ethical issue than the politicians generally, including Mr. Roosevelt, deemed "wise." Except in wartime a political leader shrinks from presenting policies which involve sacrifice.

## II

Let it be stated clearly what sacrifice means in Christian ethics. It does not mean the effacement of self-interest. It means the expansion of the self by the inclusion of the interests of other selves in the orbit of

one's own self-interest. Sacrifice is unselfishness, not selflessness, which is a perversion of unselfishness. The right to be a self is inalienable, and concern for the self is as truly an ethical duty as concern for others. We are commanded to love our neighbor as ourselves. To say, therefore, that world peace requires national self-sacrifice, a national willingness to "take potluck" with the rest of the world, does not mean the effacement or the jeopardizing of the selfhood of any nation. Rather it points the way by which the worth and dignity and prosperity of all nations may be enriched by the welfare of each and each by the welfare of all. "He that loseth his life . . . shall find it" applies to nations no less than to individuals.

It is high time that this radical moral truth be proclaimed to the nations, and to none more forcefully than our own. The United States, in its long geographical isolation, with vast resources lying close at hand within its own borders, developed an egocentric economy and a consciousness of national self-sufficiency which the realities of the modern world will no longer sustain. We now live in a world whose interdependence stands revealed as its most characteristic feature. The United States now belongs to the world—politically, economically, and culturally—and its responsibility in this relationship calls for a new sensitivity to the ethical character of its policies.

The picture which the modern world presents clearly exhibits the moral necessity of national sacrifice. No nation can any longer live for itself. Its security cannot be maintained by its own might. Its prosperity can no longer be supported merely by cultivating and processing its own resources. Its system of exploiting backward lands for raw materials for its industries is playing out, because these lands are themselves on the way to industrialization. Its tariff walls, which have always been a defiance of the moral law, are now obsolete economically. Only a free exchange of goods in an interdependent world can avoid the economic tensions which in our selfish nationalism inevitably produce war. Imperialism is on the way out—both political and economic imperialism; it cannot long survive the upsurge of nationalism among the exploited colonial peoples; certainly it cannot continue without inviting more war.

In a word, the modern world is presenting itself to the conscience of every nation in a shape which makes the principle of sacrifice so plain and necessary that it almost loses its ethical quality of duty and becomes utilitarian! It is no longer fantastic idealism to appeal to a nation to make sacrifices. It had better!

### III

Will these sacrifices curtail our sovereignty? Yes. But war curtailed.  
(Continued on page 25)



## *Of One Blood, All!*

The witness of the years rings strangely true  
To what God's Word affirms: mankind is one!  
The races set in families pursue  
Their destined course, to hail life's fairest Son!

Torn by dissent, by passion bowed in sorrow,  
Humanity bleeds freely from its wounds;  
Man storms the walls to win a fair tomorrow  
Where life shall thrill to nobler, grander sounds.

Locked now in deadly combat, steeled with hate,  
Blood brothers speed toward death; the mortal fire  
Burns high while prejudice and greed await  
The call of peace from disciplined desire.

But though the bitter flames burn fiercely tall,  
A voice speaks through the holocaustal blaze:  
"Made of one blood; one family; brothers all;  
Destined for life abundant, joy, and praise!"

They yet shall scale the wall, this race of men;  
The hour has struck for justice and for peace,  
The hero in the soul mounts soon again  
On wings of song to hymn life's sweet release.

—*John Gray Rhind.\**

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\* Minister, Northminster Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio. Reprinted from the *Federal Council Bulletin*, September, 1944.

# *Experiment in Democracy*

*By David Braun \**

THIS is the story of an experiment that demonstrates the truth of democracy. Over a period of two weeks I had the rich privilege of ministering to the officers and men of the United States Navy at Hampton Institute in Virginia.

While there I saw some things. I saw men drill with a proficiency I never saw on any other military post. I saw them stride across the campus each day in perfect formation, singing with a surging power that would stir the dulllest heart. I saw them in the workshops, in the machine rooms, and in classrooms, developing the most expert technical skills. I saw these men handle their ships with a loving care that would have warmed the heart of the most rebellious taxpayer. I saw in the men an unfailing courtesy and in their officers an unfailing consideration for their men. Everywhere I went I felt in the very air a sense of their confident pride—pride in their learning, pride in their skill, pride in their uniform, pride in their country, and pride in themselves.

As I went about sharing the problems and difficulties, the hopes and dreams, of these men—problems and hopes so much like our own—I had to keep reminding myself that their

skins were dark and that this magnificent navy of Negro men is a living symbol calling our minds and hearts to something dreadfully important, a symbol of the most disgraceful failure of our democracy and a symbol of something grand yet to come that will be better for them and better for all of us.

Three things out of this ministry I'd like to share with you: I had an experience. I met a man. I read a book.

## **An Experience**

To say I had an experience is to put it mildly. I had a variety of unforgettable experiences. Everywhere I went the men were eager to talk. I talked with them in their barracks in the machine shops, and on the ships. Many of us have long been concerned about the injustice visited upon the Negro people in our country, but here is another way of looking at it. Wherever we rob a man of his right to work and grow because of his color we thereby rob ourselves. Racial discrimination in education, industry, or religion robs not only them but us. Here among the Negro people are unused skills and abilities that could help immeasurably to build this land of the free into a land of abundant life. It remains only for us to welcome these contributions and use them.

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\* Minister, Swarthmore Presbyterian Church, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.



On Sunday I conducted Church services on board a Navy L.S.T. I was pleased with the rousing welcome I received. I said later to the captain that it was pleasant to have Church service greeted with such enthusiasm. He replied: "Yes, I suppose it is. But I ought to tell you that the men have been promised liberty for the day in your honor." After service the captain received emergency orders to sail at once. There was great activity as the ship prepared to leave, and I, apparently, had been forgotten in the excitement. At last the captain turned to me and said: "I don't know where we're going, but you're going along. There is no time to put you ashore." I told him I had made rather inadequate preparations for a long war and could I please go home now. I knew they needed a chaplain on the ship, but it seemed a rather violent way of getting one. When at last I reconciled myself to fighting the war to a successful conclusion with only one shirt we received another set of orders that sent us to a near-by port. I was only a day late for my next appointments. I thought it would be difficult to preach to men who in a few days would be facing death. It wasn't difficult at all. They challenged me as I've never been challenged before.

There were many things that gave me the measure of these men: the pride with which men at their machines would show me their work, the

constant courtesy that made every visit a pleasure, the gleaming cleanliness of their ships, the manly bearing of the sailors. I looked one day at dinnertime into the messroom of a small boat. Ten men sat about the small table. Their heads were bowed as one of their number led them in prayer. They were not expecting me or anyone else. It seemed such a natural, easy thing for them to do. They were looking to God to keep them strong, to prepare them for a better opportunity. And God is looking to us to become the tools of his great plan.

### A Man

A scholar has observed about our time that "one of its tragedies is that when it needed a Socrates it got a Bernard Shaw." I am pleased to report that when this Negro unit of our Navy needed a Socrates it very nearly got one. *I met a man*—Commander Edwin H. Downes—one of those rare souls who finds in an assignment something more than just another job. If I were to describe him in a word I would say that he is a man of first-rate convictions, and he has made of his job an example of what democracy can and must be.

"I believe that we can take either a positive or negative attitude toward people," he says, "and I prefer the positive approach." It is his conviction that there is something excellent in every person and no matter

*(Continued on page 26)*

## **World Order Movement**

Traditionally, the American citizen feels little personal relation to the foreign policy of his country. He looks upon this as the responsibility of a few individuals in Washington. Such is the opinion of Mr. Sumner Welles expressed in his book, *The Time for Decision*, and few would deny that it is an accurate picture. But equally few would say it is a healthful condition. Perhaps international relations have not been better because we, the people, have been too content to be little more than spectators, and sometimes not even that! As the waging of war is not a matter of a few top officials, but instantly becomes the concern of all the people, so the waging of peace through every possible channel and means must be the task and the concern of all and especially of Christians.

It is not that Christian people know all the answers to problems such as the future of the islands of the Pacific, the Polish-Russian border, or the policing of Germany; but through God's gift to men of Jesus Christ, the Christian knows in what direction lies the finding of those answers, and a few first steps toward them. Peacemaking calls first for conviction about God's purpose and man's role in history.

Such is our faith as Christians, and we must act upon it *now*. The World Order Movement stands for the discipline of study issuing in the test of action by those who know that "without me ye can do nothing," for without Christ at the center of their national and international life, the nation can only continue to walk the treadmill of recurring world wars.

## **Peacetime Consumption**

In the election campaign so far (October 1), there has been at the most only incidental reference to the issue of peacetime military training. Certainly no candidate for national office has discussed or argued it. Yet it is being strenuously urged, and is finding strong bipartisan support in influential circles. It is an open secret that universal military training will be brought before Congress for adoption after election. *The New York Times* reports that "once the elections are over, the public may be surprised at the speed with which Congress may move toward setting up a universal military training law."

This whole procedure has ominous implications. Why, when the American people are pouring their energies into wartime services, should they be called upon to decide so momentous an issue? When the needs and pattern of the postwar world, military as well as political, are still fa

# e These

From determined, why should this nation take now what is certainly a drastic, and what might well turn out to be, an unnecessary and provocative step? For compulsory military service in peacetime would not touch American life upon the surface only, or merely at this or that point; but, quoting again *The New York Times*, it has to do with the whole of "the American way of life after the war."

Why this apparent haste? Is it that some feel that the American people cannot be trusted to deal intelligently with the issue after the war? Is it to some people a way to take the eighteen-year-olds out of the labor market, and thus to lessen the number of unemployed? Is it that some have unwittingly become enamored of the military way of life, and have begun to think of solutions of pressing issues only in military terms?

General Assembly, last May, in Chicago, took a firm stand against pushing this issue to a decision during wartime in these words: "We would record our conviction that no decision should be made during the war which commits this nation to a postwar policy of peacetime military conscription." This declaration must be implemented by action. A Church agency whose responsibility it is to keep close to trends in Washington reports that legislators are saying: "Sure we know that Church bodies are opposed to peacetime conscription; but on the other hand, we are getting letters, telegrams, and interviews from members of organizations in strong support of peacetime military training, and these mean more to a legislator."

Presbyterians who support the action of General Assembly would be well advised therefore, to write to the President, to Senator Robert C. Reynolds, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee; to Congressman Andrew J. May, of the House Military Affairs Committee; the two Senators from their own state; and their own Representatives in the House.

## Wartime Service

This month the members of the Presbyterian Church will have another opportunity to extend the ministry of their Church to meet the emergency needs of a war-torn world.

The money that is given to the War-Time Service Commission will be transmuted into Christian life and service in military camps and lonely outposts, in war-fevered industrial centers, and on far-flung battlefields. We can make November 19 a V-Day for our Church, by giving generously, so that the War-Time Service Commission may have adequate funds to meet the pressing and growing needs and opportunities of the year ahead.



# WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

## Campaign Program

By Cameron P. Hall \*

### One Day Conferences

Following the Church-wide observance of World Order Sunday on November 12, the next important event in the World Order Movement will be the series of some sixty one-day conferences to be held in as many communities throughout the Church. They will begin on November 13 and conclude on December 15. The following list includes the conferences projected as of October 1 and communities grouped by synods.

#### Baltimore:

*Washington*, November 13  
*Wilmington*, November 14  
*Baltimore*, November 20

#### California:

*Los Angeles*, December 4  
*Sacramento*, December 6  
*San Francisco*, December 7

#### New York:

*Brooklyn*, November 24  
*Elmira*, November 26  
*Rochester*, November 27  
*Syracuse*, November 28  
*Albany*, November 29

#### New Jersey:

*Newark*, November 15  
*Elizabeth*, November 16  
*Patterson*, November 17  
*Trenton*, November 17

#### Pennsylvania:

*Philadelphia*, November 16  
*Pittsburgh*, November 20  
*Indiana*, November 21  
*Harrisburg*, November 24

#### Ohio:

*Columbus*, November 14  
*Dayton*, November 15  
*Cincinnati*, November 16  
*Youngstown*, December 8

#### Indiana:

*Indianapolis*, November 13  
*South Bend*, November 14  
*Fort Wayne*, November 17  
*Evansville*, December 15

#### Illinois:

*Chicago*  
*Rock Island*, December 4  
*Springfield*, December 5  
*Urbana*, December 6  
*Carbondale*, December 7

#### Michigan:

*Detroit*, November 6  
*Saginaw*, November 8  
*Kalamazoo*, November 9

#### Mid-South:

*Birmingham*, December 12  
*Knoxville*, December 13

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\* Director of the Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

**Kentucky:**

*Louisville*, December 14

**Iowa:**

*Davenport*, December 4

*Des Moines*, December 5

**Missouri:**

*St. Louis*, November 27

*Moberly*, November 28

*Kansas City*, November 29

*Joplin*, November 30

**Kansas:**

*Wichita*, December 4

*Salina*, December 5

**Nebraska:**

*Omaha*, December 12

*Lincoln*, December 13

*Hastings*, December 14

**Texas:**

*Amarillo*, December 12

*Dallas*, December 13

*Houston*, December 14

**Oregon:**

*Portland*, December 11 (tentative)

**Washington:**

*Seattle*, December 12 (tentative)

*Tacoma*, December 13 (tentative)

**Minnesota:**

*St. Paul*, December 6

*Duluth*, December 7

**Oklahoma:**

*Oklahoma City*, November 28

*Tulsa*, November 29

These are training conferences, their purpose being to guide and inspire Christian action *now* for world order, and to train leaders for the four-week study period in the local Churches, January 14 to February 14, 1945.

**Pre-Lenten Study Groups**

This promotion of study groups in every local Church is a most important aspect of the World Order Movement.

The theme of the study will be "The Price of Peace." Changes there must be if the world after World War II is not to repeat what happened after World War I. There must be changes in our attitudes toward others, changes in the pattern of international relationships, changes perhaps in our standard of living, changes in what nations call "domestic" issues. But, deepest of all, is the change demanded by the times in the Christian's own life and in his service to Christ.

The opportunity of this pre-Lenten study period will be lost unless it is supported by the entire leadership of the Church, carried through with a high sense of urgency, carefully set up and planned to touch the life and thought of the Church as a whole, and drawing upon the full resources of Church and community for its leadership. Materials and suggestions for leaders in this project will be available free upon request to WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT, Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

## SPONSORING COMMITTEE

The following Presbyterians have accepted membership on the Sponsoring Committee of the World Order Movement. They have done this as an opportunity to witness to their personal conviction that this is a theme about which the Presbyterian Church should be unitedly and actively concerned this year.

Chairman: George W. McClelland, President, University of Pennsylvania

Vice-Chairman: Roy E. Vale, Moderator of the General Assembly

Vice-Chairman: Mrs. Fred S. Bennett, Former President, Woman's Board of Home Missions

Fred W. Backemeyer  
Norris C. Bakke  
Jesse B. Barber  
George Emerson Barnes  
Philip Smead Bird  
Remsen D. Bird  
Eugene C. Blake  
Harold L. Bowman  
George A. Buttrick  
Paul Calhoun  
Mrs. Rex Clements  
Rex S. Clements  
Henry Sloane Coffin  
J. Harry Cotton  
Harold W. Dodds  
John Foster Dulles  
John H. Gardner, Jr.  
Mrs. William A. Hastings  
Jesse Herrmann  
Ralph B. Hindman  
Alfred Hoffmann  
Wm. H. Hudnut, Jr.  
Raymond M. Hughes  
R. Park Johnson  
Paul C. Johnston  
Ilion T. Jones  
Hugh T. Kerr  
Wilbur La Roe, Jr.  
R. Dale LeCount  
Ganse Little

Arnold H. Lowe  
John A. Mackay  
Ralph C. McAfee  
Howard McCluskey  
Frederick Paul McConkey  
Robert N. McLean  
Arthur L. Miller  
Jean S. Milner  
Mrs. Paul Moser  
Alfred S. Nickless  
Thomas R. Niven  
Morgan P. Noyes  
Frederick H. Olert  
Mrs. Frederic M. Paist  
Mrs. Albert Parker  
Miss Elinor K. Purves  
Fred A. Roblee  
Shelby Rooks  
Harrison Sayre  
Harry T. Scherer  
Frank A. Shattuck  
Robert E. Speer  
Wallace C. Speers  
Robert G. Sproul  
Charles J. Turck  
Rasmus Thomsen  
Henry P. Van Dusen  
Harold B. Walker  
Paul S. Wright



## One World Government Now

*(Continued from page 7)*

ment can be trusted to exercise will be limited at the start. There is no experience on which the framers can draw. But these powers must not be too greatly limited, or the world government will be a delusion. The people expect this world government to protect them from war, to end all wars. The politicians believe that the people fear a matter of words, "a delegation of sovereignty." The politicians are greatly mistaken. What the people fear is a Third World War.

The world government should not be weaker than the illusory agreement that the Kellogg-Briand Pact embodied. That agreement provided that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be . . . shall never be sought except by pacific means" (Article II). The difficulty with the Pact was not the written words of the agreement, but the failure to create a world government to give it validity and to provide a world force to prevent or punish its breach. The world government that follows this war must develop the procedures for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and create the armed force necessary in this government, as in all governments, to prevent lawless groups from violating its decrees of the rights that it safeguards.

## Christian Thought Moves Ahead

Political scientists have foreseen all kinds of difficulties in the creation of a world government. Churchmen, concerned with the purpose to be achieved and the values for human beings that would be advanced, have been less timid in announcing their goal. At the Delaware Conference in March, 1942, the final goal was thus described: "The ultimate requirement is a duly constituted world government of delegated powers: an international legislative body, an international court with adequate

jurisdiction, international administrative bodies with necessary powers, and adequate international police forces and provision for world-wide economic sanctions." It is true that the Delaware Conference favored many sorts of international bodies and agencies, but it warned: "Such bodies must be adapted to the service of world order and government, and must not become a substitute therefor." No isolationist, no legalist, no nationalist, can view this declaration except with alarm.

It is to be regretted that the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace did not reaffirm the Delaware Conference on the world political organization. It favored only "a continuing collaboration of the United Nations, and in due course, of neutral and enemy nations." Collaboration is not enough, and Churchmen should be the last to use that inconclusive and dubious word. Nothing less than world government can put down war, exactly as nothing less than government has put down strife in national areas or in local communities. A pillar of collaboration will not sustain a house of government.

## Our Time Demands World Government

Christian thought moves steadily ahead toward world government. It is ahead of the realists? What of that? Realists can speak only of what has been real in the past. But that past is gone. This is a new world, ONE WORLD. Only idealists who know the power of the Christian ideal of brotherhood can speak with power for such a world.

World government is ahead of our time? No. World government is demanded by our time. Christians must declare that fact. ONE WORLD means one world government. Believing in human beings as the sons and daughters of God, we also believe that orderly government by and for this vast suffering world is possible, is right, and must be established NOW.

# Sanctuary

## "This Nation Under God"<sup>1</sup>

*BEHOLD, O God, this our beloved country:  
The old, the young, the little children;  
rich and poor, ignorant and learned;  
The laborers and managers of industry;  
workers in factory and mine, office and home;  
A people of many traditions, many colors,  
divergent hopes and fears.*

*Behold America:*

*Its mountains and plains, rivers and forests,  
its inland seas and shining coasts.*

*Upon this our land, upon these our people,  
pour down, we beseech thee, thy life-giving spirit  
of nobility and truth.*

*Where there is strife, bring co-operation for the common good;  
Where greed and envy abound, control us with that divine  
perspective which sees in every man the dignity of a  
growing soul;*

*Where interests clash, govern us with the higher  
impulse which seeks first thy righteous Kingdom.*

*Behold, O God, this our nation; bless it, make it strong and pure;  
and fill it with the beauty of holiness; through Jesus Christ  
our Lord. Amen.*

*John Wallace Suter.<sup>2</sup>*

### Prayers:

Creator God, Lord of all nations, God of our Fathers and our God, we commit to thee our beloved nation in this time of decision.

We thank thee for the light of thine inspiration which has led our fathers in the past. We thank thee for the Christ-bestowed vision of brotherhood in which these United States were established. We thank thee for the measure in which that vision has been fulfilled, and we pray forgiveness for the measure in which we have prevented its fulfillment.

We pray now that thou wilt bestow a special portion of the light of thy truth and of the compulsion of thy Spirit upon us as a people, as we choose our leaders. May they be those who love mercy, do justly, and walk humbly in thy sight.

<sup>1</sup> From *This Nation Under God*, a worship service for use on Election Day Sunday, November 5; World Order Sunday, November 12; or any similar occasion. Printed copies of the complete service for congregational or other group worship available from any Presbyterian Book Store—\$1.00 a hundred.

<sup>2</sup> From *Prayers of the Spirit*, by John Wallace Suter. Harper & Brothers, New York. Used with permission.

Grant, O Father of all mankind, that our decisions now and our decisions in the months and years to come may bring our nation into active brotherhood with all the nations of the world. Help us to have done with the anarchy that breeds war. Lead us into the rule of law and order that alone can bring peace.

Give us, O God, wisdom and courage that we, citizens and public servants alike, may glorify America with brotherhood from sea to sea, providing justice for men of every race and creed and class. Grant that we may so order our life together that each one may have free opportunity for the development of the talents with which thou hast endowed him.

Purge our hearts and minds, we pray thee, of all pride of self and class, of race and nation. Make us, O God, a nation whose God is the Lord. Reveal thy saving health to us and may all our ways be thy ways. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord and our Redeemer. Amen.

Robert W. Searle.

### A Litany: Our Country.

O God the Father, who governest the nations upon earth,

*Be merciful unto us.*

From presumptuous sins, from pride of possession, from vainglorious boastings, from national hypocrisies,

*Save thy people, Lord.*

From class warfare and class hatred, from racial antagonisms, from the spirit of party, from the seeking of sectional advantage and forgetfulness of the general good,

*Save thy people, Lord.*

From failure to take account of the needs of other nations, from living unto ourselves alone,

*Save thy people, Lord.*

That we make choice of just legislators and faithful counselors, who with a godly spirit may enact always things just, and things wise, and things merciful,

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

That we may co-operate earnestly and effectively with other nations, and with them labor for the defense and maintenance of public right, for the abolition of war and the establishment of international law, and for whatever else may pertain to the general good,

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

Almighty God, receive, we pray thee, our unfeigned thanks for the good land which thou hast given us. Cleanse us from things that defile our national life, and grant that this people may keep thy commandments, and walk in thy ways. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

### Declaration of Christian Citizenship:

I pledge allegiance to my Lord Jesus Christ and to the eternal Kingdom of God. By the laws of that Kingdom alone can a nation endure. Therefore, setting aside all selfish purpose, I pledge myself to perform my duties of citizenship in accordance with Jesus' command of brotherhood and I pray God's guidance as I vote and as I live, that this, my solemn promise, may be faithfully performed.

<sup>3</sup> Adapted from *The Kingdom, the Power and the Glory*. Oxford University Press, New York, publisher and copyright owner. Used with permission.



## When We Come Home

(Continued from page 9)

the need of men and women rather than religious affiliation was the common bond. Men and women after such experiences will expect the Church to unite people rather than to divide them by its dogmas and requirements.

This war obviously has made many of us live dangerously. We shall return with the reasonable expectancy that the realizations of the ideals for which we fought will not be blocked by persons fearful lest they lose accustomed comforts and privileges. We shall expect our Church to take the lead in running risks for a just peace even as we faced greater hazards for victory. Some editors and politicians now declare the Four Freedoms no longer relevant to today's conditions. Yet, as long as any people anywhere on the globe are denied them, we shall expect the Church to champion them.

## Alert Warnings

Throughout World War II we have been obliged to compromise the Christian imperative to live according to the principle of love. The heavy price being exacted to win victory should be enough to keep us from forgetting what by now we should have learned. Namely, that justice on this earth amongst nations depends now and for years to come in an essential part upon employment of military force. In the United States of America with all other nations, in some form of international co-operation, must maintain sufficient military force to preserve the world order to be established after victory. Since this is so, may our Church support only such peace movements as have this realistic approach.

Both at home and overseas all of us have stressed the utilitarian aspect of our faith. In days of peace we shall need to be re-awakened to the things that are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. We shall need the Church to cham-

pion a seventh day of rest and worship.

Military regime and wartime restrictions have compelled us to obey leaders and follow the group without question. As peace returns preservation of our healthy democracy will demand much of the Church. It must re-educate us in the privilege and responsibility of the individual to judge and choose as his conscience dictates is right.

The war period has not been marked by any great profound religious awakenings at home. Neither has there been one on the part of men and women in the service. This being true, the Church in its ecumenical aspirations must build from where it is at home. Returning chaplains will be found not to have moved appreciably beyond the ecclesiastical frames which bound them upon entrance into the service.

The widespread, copious supply of alcoholic beverages available both at home and everywhere amongst service personnel has certainly increased the number of persons who use them. In the future the Church will have great responsibility to strengthen its temperance education.

In a still more serious way the war, as usual, has brought an eclipse of morality in the area of sex indulgence. Extramarital intercourse as well as intercourse between the unmarried has been sufficiently widespread to cause many serious problems in the future. Here the Church must be truly inspired and informed if it is to heal and help as well as guide.

Finally, a negative reaction from overseas experience is to be expected. Undoubtedly there will be many men and women who will come back with the attitude of, "I've risked my life and have done my bit; therefore, I'm going to settle down and take it easy." To such as these the Church must interpret the experience of Paul: "This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

## The Ethical Nub of U. S. Postwar Policy

(Continued from page 12)

our sovereignty and jeopardizes our sovereignty absolutely with the possibility of defeat by our enemies. Will these sacrifices for peace reduce our standard of living? Possibly so, for a time. But only until the process of free exchange of goods among all nations establishes an adjustment like that which obtains among the forty-eight states of our Federal union.

But take it at its worst. Would such a reduction of the living standard compare with the reduction caused by war in every country of the world, most of whose peoples, victors as well as vanquished, will emerge from it in indescribable poverty? In the United States the war has already reduced our living standard, now and for years to come. For a long, long time the people of the United States will be forced to pay enormous taxes, inexorably cutting our standard of living, in order to pay the war debt of 300 billion dollars.

It is silly to imagine that this debt can be evaded because, forsooth, "the people owe it to themselves." Almost every dollar of that debt represents the absolute destruction of national wealth in the utter wastage of war. Wealth destroyed cannot be productively enjoyed. Neither can it be written off and forgotten. It must be paid for—and the payment must come out of the people's living standard. Peace, too, will be costly. It may cost us some disarrangement of our internal economic system while we are making an adjustment to a free world economy.

What is required, if we are to meet the issue of peace versus war, is nothing less than an experience of national regeneration. A consciousness of world citizenship must be created in the heart of America's common man, complementary to his consciousness of national citizenship. The springs of sacrifice must be opened up in the consciences of the people and the national will given a new direction away from

narrow conceptions of self-interest to the welfare of humanity.

### IV

Whose is the voice that is to proclaim this need of national regeneration and call our people to repentance? It will be no politician's voice, nor the voice of any political party. Politics is not concerned with regeneration. But if another war is to be averted, human nature must be changed! Our citizenry must be changed. Our leaders must be changed. The national will must be changed. The assumption which dominates nationalistic politics and economics must be pulled up by the roots and flung away as ethically evil. This is the assumption that a nation may live to itself, think only of itself, and act only in its own interest. In its place the seeds of a new national life must be sown and cultivated under the genial sun of a new ethical ideal.

Whose but the voice of the Christian Church is to call the nation to such an experience of repentance and regeneration? It is the elementary mission of the Church to change men. This is uniquely the Church's business. For this it was placed here by divine purpose.

The only good thing that can possibly come out of this war—good in comparison with what might have been, had there been no war—is the repentance and the regeneration of the nations. This is "God's stake in the war," and it is the divine mission of the Christian Church to proclaim it. But the Church must be able to put its finger on the specific spot where repentance and regeneration must begin. There is no point in calling the nation to repentance for the war. Once having begun it cannot be repented of. Horror for the war, godly sorrow for our guilty share in precipitating it, and repentance—a changed national mind and a resolute will to make sacrifices so that it shall not be again—these are the dominant notes in the Church's message of regeneration for our own nation and for all nations.

## Experiment in Democracy

(Continued from page 15)

how small that thing is it is enough to save a man if you build on it. One of the men showed me a piece of expertly turned machinery that he had made himself. It was worthy of a skilled craftsman's pride. The commander told me that when the man arrived on the post the only good thing he could find in him was that he knew how to polish his shoes. But it was enough to begin with, enough for the making of a man.

"I believe that men are men, whatever their color; and that trained men are trained men, whatever their color," this officer told me. I heard him introduce the magnificent Negro choir that sang in my Church last winter. He said: "You people may think these men sing beautifully because they are Negroes and that they do some other things poorly for the same reason. That is sheer nonsense. These men can sing as badly as anyone else. They sing well because they are trained and they can do anything else excellently if they have a chance. We've got to give them that chance."

"The rise of the Negro people to their fair share in democracy is not growing—it is exploding," he said. I, for one, believe he is right. Machiavelli, that cynical but plain-spoken philosopher, said, "There are only two practical ways to treat people: we must liberate them or exterminate them." If we want to agree with Hitler that it is best to exterminate certain peoples, let's say so plainly. If not, then we had best get on with the business of liberation. There's a centuries-old faith in these darker-skinned fellow citizens of ours, a faith that we can't deny much longer.

## A Book

Then too I read a book that made some things very clear. It's Roi Ottley's book *New World a-Coming*. It is the story of

the Negro people in this country written with remarkable skill and restraint by a Negro. Were I in his place I'm not so sure I could be as calm about the whole thing. It is a story of injustice, oppression, and discrimination and it is a story of courage, faith, and accomplishment that you ought to read.

I don't need to remind Presbyterians about what the Christian faith tells us about the demands of brotherhood. We know those things. Whether we do anything or not is the important issue. Two little stories appeared in the newspapers not long ago. They'll serve as the healthy seed of a conviction that's got to grow in every one of us.

In a Western city the schools recently conducted an essay contest on the theme: "What shall we do with Hitler when the war is over?" A little Negro girl won the contest with this simple solution. She wrote: "Put Hitler in a dark skin and make him live in certain parts of the United States"!

Do you remember what Sergeant Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion, said when he arrived in England? Somebody said to him: "Why are you so happy to be in uniform? Your country isn't so nice to your people." Joe Louis looked at the man and said: "Mister, I know there are things wrong with my country, but it's nothing Hitler can fix."

Apparently all of us would agree with Joe Louis on this, but there's still a question: If Hitler can't fix it, who can? And God's finger points unerringly at you and me. Nearly twenty centuries ago the Apostle Paul put the challenge in plain words that we cannot longer evade: "It is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day."



# The Workshop

## World Order Movement

If your Church is to do its share, the minister or session should appoint at once a special committee to carry through. This may be the Social Education and Action Committee, if there is one, or another. A packet of material has been sent to every minister. It contains a poster on the World Order Movement. Post it at once in the most conspicuous place available, and draw attention to it by announcement and frequent references in all organization programs. Plan to use fully all materials in the packet and to have a part in these important activities. Here are suggestions:

### **I. World Order Sunday—November 12, 1944**

Plan or check plans already made for the day's observance in the Church service, Sunday School, and young people's societies, and in co-operation with community groups.

### **II. One-Day Conferences—November 13 to December 15, 1944**

Sixty of these conferences are to be held throughout the country. If one of these is within traveling distance of your community, plan for a picked delegation from your Church. This will provide training for your leaders in carrying through your part of the World Order Movement. Order copies of the book *From Victory to Peace* and promote reading and discussion of it.\*

### **III. Pre-Lenten Study in the Local Church—January 14 to February 14, 1945**

This is the point at which your own people come in personal contact with the

movement. Plan now for study groups in men's, women's, and young people's organizations. Special materials for these discussion groups are in preparation. Other materials available now are listed on page 29 of this issue.

### **IV. Post-Easter Commitment and Action**

Keep before the Church during the entire period from now until Easter the importance of action as the final expression of the convictions and attitudes developed as the result of study and discussion. Urge constantly that groups keep in touch with legislative and other proposals for the participation of our country in discussions and action in the interest of a just and lasting peace. Make plans to mark the completion of the period of study with a suitable service of commitment to Christian action. More detailed suggestions will be made as international events develop.

## World Order Begins Here

The following Social Education and Action program presented to the Presbytery of Philadelphia suggests the unity of a program with "Christian World Order" as its theme:

**Basic Convictions** on which activities and recommendations are projected:

1. By the cross we are not our own but belong to Christ.
2. As Christ's witnesses it is our duty to reflect the mind that was in him.
3. God has made all men for himself and for fellowship with one another.
4. Tensions and enmities among men come from thwarting God's laws.
5. All people are persons of infinite and equal worth to God, so that his love must be sovereign in all human relations, until society is truly as a

\* Order from any Presbyterian Book Store at special price of 60 cents. See announcement on back cover of this magazine.

family in which God is honored as Father and all are brothers—one in Christ Jesus.

## Social Education and Action Program 1944-1945

### I. Presbyterian World Order Movement

- A. On Friday, November 10, 1944, there will be an Armistice Eve Mass Meeting.
- B. Each Church should designate November 12 as Christian World Order Sunday.
- C. Each local Church during this year is urged to conduct special study groups and programs on the basis for a just and enduring peace. January 14 to February 14 are the dates suggested.
- D. The enlistment of Church members in active support of Congressional action on behalf of world order based on Christian principles.

### II. The Church and Labor

- A. A special study and report, *The Church and Industrial Relationships*, prepared at the direction of General Assembly and adopted by the Assembly in May of this year is now available for use in the local Church. This is a remarkable Christian document, framed jointly by Presbyterian leaders in management and labor, for study and discussion of this important problem.
- B. Invite leaders of labor and management to speak before your men's groups.

### III. Interracial and Intercultural Relations

- A. Race conflicts, anti-Semitism, demonstrations against Japanese-Americans, are serious symptoms of racial and cultural tensions and

frustrations. The emphasis in this area, therefore, is upon constructive action to overcome causes of conflict and to create mutual understanding, respect, and co-operation.

- B. The tensions in our own metropolitan area can be characterized as no less than acute. It is suggested that every Church seek to help:
  1. Through study groups and sermons.
  2. Through participation in a community interracial committee where there is one, for restraining and understanding.
  3. Through specific interracial Christian education among Church groups, especially the Sunday School and Westminster Fellowships, stressing: Be friendly; exercise restraint; do not repeat rumors; et cetera.

- C. On Monday, February 12, 1945, will occur a Community Brotherhood Mass Meeting.

### IV. Church and Community Cooperation

- A. According to the needs of its particular community each local Church is encouraged to engage in education and action on the immediate problems of the war community: housing, recreation, juvenile delinquency, civic and youth welfare, employment adjustments of returning soldiers and displaced industrial workers, et cetera.
- B. Each Church is urged to seek active regular representation on a community council serving its vicinity. If none exists, then Churches might well take the initiative in organizing social agencies into a community council. Reported by Ralph M. Mould, Social Education and Action Chairman, Presbytery of Philadelphia.

# Study and Action on World Order

PRESBYTERIAN WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT,\* Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

\***World Order Movement.** The purpose and program of the Presbyterian Church-wide Campaign. A promotional leaflet. *Free.*

\***This Nation Under God** (new), and **Thine Is the Kingdom.** Worship services for use in congregational or other Church groups. The first may be used either on Election Day Sunday, November 5, or World Order Sunday, November 12. *\$1.00 a hundred.*

\***Nations United for Peace.** A study packet on World Order for discussion groups in Church and community. Contains the discussion guide, *Six Pillars of Peace*, and other valuable source material for discussion and reference. *35 cents.*

\***Conversations About Christian World Order.** Scripts for radio use or for round tables in Church groups. *10 cents.*

\***Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the General Assembly, 1944.** *Free.*

\***The Church and Industrial Relations.** Report and recommendations for action, approved by the General Assembly, 1944. For group study. *Up to 25 copies, free; 25 to 99 copies, 7 cents each; 100 to 250 copies, 5 cents each; 250 and over, 4 cents each.*

\***Today and Tomorrow Leaflets.** *Up to 25, free; \$1.00 a hundred.*

1—The Church in the Peacemaking.

2—War's Impact on Labor.

3—Five Essentials of Brotherhood.

4—When You Come Home.

5—Jobs—After the War?

6—Realism in Foreign Affairs.

7—When We Come Home (Ready November 15).

FRIENDSHIP PRESS, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

\***Do You Want a Christian World?** by Willis Lamott. A study guide for young people. *25 cents.*

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. *25 cents each.*

**U. S. Foreign Trade and World Economy**, by Howard P. Whidden, Jr.

**U. S. Plans for World Organization**, by Vera Micheles Dean.

**U. S. Foreign Policy and the Voter**, by Vera Micheles Dean.

**On the Threshold of World Order**, by Vera Micheles Dean.

**Winning the Peace**, by Thomas P. Brockway. Problems of reconstruction.

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

**Fundamentals of the International Organization—General Statement.** *Free.*

**Time Has Come for Action**, by Clark M. Eichelberger. *10 cents.*

**Labor's Aims in War and Peace**, by Amy Hews. *10 cents.*

**Toward Greater Freedom** (Revised, 1944). Problems of war and peace. *15 cents.*

## Important!

Order starred items from any Presbyterian Book Store. Other materials are listed for the reader's information and should be ordered from publishers as given. These are not stocked in any of the Presbyterian Book Stores and cannot be furnished by them.



# About Books

## Books on U. S. Foreign Policy \*

### Interwar Period

*The Origins and Background of the Second World War*, by C. Grove Haines and Ross J. S. Hoffman. Oxford University Press, 1943. \$3.25. A most useful and balanced survey of the part played by the United States in the interwar years.

*America in Midpassage*, by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. Macmillan, 1939. Two vols. \$3.50. Developments in this country during the interwar years.

### Danger Signals of War

*Ambassador Dodd's Diary, 1933-1938*, edited by William E. Dodd, Jr., and Martha Dodd. Harcourt, Brace, 1941. \$1.89.

*Ten Years in Japan, 1932-1942*, by Joseph C. Grew. Simon and Schuster, 1944. \$3.75.

*You Can't Do Business with Hitler*, by Douglas Miller. Little, Brown, 1941. \$1.50.

### United States in World Affairs

*Can We Be Neutral?* by Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Harpers, 1936. \$1.50.

*Why We Went to War*, by Newton D. Baker. Harpers, 1936. \$1.50.

*Isolated America*, by Raymond L. Buell. Knopf, 1940. \$3.00.

Arguments for international collaboration presented before our entrance into the war.

*Road to War*, by Walter Millis. Houghton Mifflin, 1935. \$3.00.

*Neutrality for the United States*, by Edwin M. Borchard and William P. Lage. Yale University Press, 1937. \$3.50.

Arguments for isolationism, marshaled, also, before our entrance into the war.

*America's Strategy in World Politics*, by

\* Based on an article in *Foreign Policy Reports*, September 15, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

Nicholas J. Spykman. Harcourt, Brace, 1942. \$3.00.

*The Geography of the Peace*, by Nicholas J. Spykman; edited by Helen R. Nicholl. Harcourt, Brace, 1944. \$2.75.

The first presents a geopolitical view of American foreign policy and should be read in conjunction with the second, the author's posthumous volume, edited by Miss Nicholl.

### Peace Settlement—World War I

*The Aftermath*, by Winston Churchill. Scribners, 1929. \$5.00. A striking analysis of the Versailles settlement.

*Versailles Twenty Years After*, by Paul Birdsall. Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941. \$3.00.

*Unfinished Business*, by Stephen Bonsa. Doubleday, Doran, 1944. \$3.00.

Negotiations by a war correspondent and aide to Colonel House at the Paris Peace Conference.

### Senate Approval of Treaties

*The American Senate and World Peace*, by Kenneth W. Colegrove. Vanguard, 1944. \$2.00.

*The Constitution and World Organization*, by Edward S. Corwin. Princeton University Press, 1944. \$1.00.

*Mandate from the People*, by Jerome S. Bruner. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944. \$2.75.

### Future Course

*The Time for Decision*, by Sumner Welles. Harpers, 1944. \$3.00. (See review following.)

*The Road to Foreign Policy*, by Hugh Gibson. Doubleday, Doran, 1944. \$2.50.

*U. S. War Aims*, by Walter Lippman. Little, Brown, 1944. \$1.50.

*How New Will the Better World Be*, by Carl L. Becker. Knopf, 1944. \$2.50. The author skeptically asks his questions and answers it cogently, but with a strong pessimism.

**The Time for Decision**, by Sumner Welles. Harpers. \$3.00.

"I am one of those who believe that the present World War would not have cursed mankind had the United States followed a different course during the past quarter of a century." Thus Sumner Welles states the conviction upon which his book is based. He substantiates this conclusion by recounting facts and by sharing experiences known to but a few men in the world today. Written by one who can speak from long firsthand experience in a wide range of world relationship, this book is disturbing. The opening chapter, "It Might Have Been," ought to bring Christian America to its knees in humble repentance. When the reader realizes, as he most certainly must, what might have been had we only known and acted, it is difficult to restrain the cry, "O Father, forgive us; we knew not what we did." Here is a practical man of politics and diplomacy showing us how we again and again sowed the seeds of evil and destruction when, had we decided otherwise, we as easily might have planted understanding and brotherhood. In some instances, notably one or two in Ch. V, a better sense of values was called for on the part of our leaders. But in most cases the factor lacking was not in the character or desire of public officials, but rather in nonexistent public opinion.

To read Ch. III, to see for the first time in print the story of Mr. Welles's visit to Europe in 1940, and to have him recount how futile was his mission for peace and security because it was not backed by an informed public opinion in America is not only an interesting revelation, but it is a distinct challenge to all who feel it must not happen again.

According to the author, our national tradition has been: let public opinion deal with domestic matters; foreign affairs belong to experts. Welles shows how we have drifted away from the able, successful, patriotic statesmanship of the early

diplomats at home both in America and Europe to the position where the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate could boast that he had "never left the shores of the United States."

For those who would serve the Kingdom, the TIME is NOW; the DECISION, Shall the Church make itself heard in international affairs? Shall we wait any longer to exercise our Constitutional right of petition—a right to let those in authority know what America or those who are Church members want?

One may not accept certain implications of the book: he may not agree with the plan to dismember Germany or the specific plan for world organization. Yet every thinking American Churchman will appreciate the urgency of these words: "The people of the United States are once more afforded the chance to offer their co-operation and their leadership to other nations. They are granted another opportunity to help to make a world in which they and all people can safely live. The decisions they now make will determine their destiny."

JOHN C. WHITE

**America**, by Stephen Vincent Benét. Farrar & Rinehart. \$1.50.

**Basic History of the United States**, by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. The New Home Library. 69 cents.

These books have several things in common. They are written about America; they are by distinguished authors; they are prepared for popular consumption. The Beards' *Basic History* is addressed to the general public. Benét's *America* was written at the behest of the Office of War Information, for translation into foreign languages. Both are attempts to reach an appraisal of the much-discussed American way of life which will face historical facts and still leave the average American a sound reason for pride.

The book by the Beards is an entirely



new work. As might have been expected, it deals less with external events than with the "fundamental activities, ideas, and interests which have entered into the development of American society." It is written around their theory of civilization, taken over from George Bancroft: "The measure of civilization is the degree in which the intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over wealth and brute force; in other words, the measure of the progress of civilization is the measure of the progress of the people." This progress is depicted in the form of a struggle between the spirit of man and reactionary and entrenched privilege. The "subversive" and revolutionary proposals of yesterday become the commonplaces of today. The process by which this takes place—constitutional government—is slow, but in the end it is surer and safer than any other method. This is a good family reference book, but it is a book that should be read from beginning to end in order to appreciate the viewpoint of the authors.

Had he lived, Stephen Vincent Benét would probably have revised his slim book, *America*, before permitting it to be published. It contains paragraphs of almost lyrical prose, and pages which sound like a digest from longer histories. In places it seems to be addressed to Americans; in other spots it is "propaganda" addressed to others. However, it is a good antidote to our American characteristic of alternating between extreme self-criticism and national bumptiousness. America, accord-

ing to the author, "has made mistakes in its own affairs, mistakes in the affairs of the world. But it looks to the future always—to a future of free men and women, where there shall be bread and work, security and liberty for the children of mankind." This book will not make you think, but it will renew your faith. It will be an excellent tonic for postelection mental depression.

W. C. L.

**I See a New China**, by George Hogg. Little, Brown. \$2.50.

The author of this book is an energetic young Britisher. He went to the Far East in 1938 and has traveled extensively in north and west China, studying and working with the Industrial Co-operatives. Mr. Hogg lived with the people and gave many illuminating incidents showing the squalor and suffering which follows flood and famine and the ruthless army of the oppressor. One wishes that the book might have been illustrated with photographs, but descriptions are vivid and unreserved and there is much factual material to give a clearer appreciation of the seemingly impossible economy of China in wartime. In addition to the record of travel the author gives interesting and enlightening detail of his work as the foreign secretary of the Co-operatives and as principal of a technical school for the training of Co-operative apprentices. The book bolsters one's faith in the endurance and staid heroism of the Chinese people.

H. P. LARSEN

## FROM VICTORY TO PEACE

By Paul Hutchinson

*Read This Book.* Its vigorous application of the Christian ethic to the problems of peace and world order provides a challenging text for group discussion in the Churches.

Special **World Order Movement** Edition.

At all Presbyterian Book Stores. Price, 60 cents.



# Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

**Dangerous Journey**—Travelogue. (Twentieth-Century-Fox.) This feature-length travelogue is given timeliness as a depiction of things American soldiers are seeing in mysterious corners of the world. It moves across the Sahara, into the dark heart of Africa, to India, Ceylon, and Burma, to witness strange customs, tribal pageantry, wild beasts, and Hindu rites at Benares. The photography is excellent, the material new, and the narration notably clear and to the point. The essential importance of understanding other races is brought home as a fundamental necessity for world peace. Overly exciting for young or nervous spectators. **Family.**

**She's a Soldier Too**—with Beulah Bondi, Nina Foch, Jess Barker, Lloyd Bridges. (Columbia.) A comedy-drama of today's wartime conditions, emphasizing the need of understanding and human kindness. Two elderly sisters and their bachelor brother are roughly shaken out of the complacency of their little prewar world when a young mother-to-be, en route to the hospital, is deposited in their home. Through a combination of events the family domain is gradually transformed into a home for girl war workers—an intolerable situation to the elder sister, who determines to oust the invaders. The characterizations are more important than the plot. Thought-provoking and entertaining. **Family.**

**In the Meantime, Darling**—with Jeanne Crain, Frank Latimore. (Twentieth-Century-Fox.) A pleasant and often moving little picture. The story is centered in a young Army officer and his bride. Much of the action has to do with the girl's adjustment to her environment and her final realization of the part she is called upon to play as a war wife. The treatment lacks originality and pace, but there are enough good things in the film to make it quite entertaining. **Family.**

**Kismet**—with Ronald Coleman, Marlene Dietrich. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) The fabulous story of the king of beggars, who became a veritable prince and whose daughter married the caliph, has been made into a delightful picture, which has fairy-tale romance and color with Bagdad as the background. The fantastic story unfolds in the ancient city, which by the aid of superb technicolor reconstruction is a place of shining marble, airy vistas, and rainbow hues. Somehow, it all seems quite believable, and the acting and direction help the illusion. **Family.**

**Till We Meet Again**—with Ray Milland, Barbara Britton. (Paramount.) A young novice in a French convent is called upon to aid in the escape of an American aviator who has landed in France and obtained valuable information from the underground. In order to get through the lines it is necessary for her to pose as his wife. The young girl's innocent unawareness that she has fallen in love with the man, and her burning sense of duty, which leads her, finally, to sacrifice her life that he may escape, adds a tender and moving quality to the film. The rest of the picture is rather hackneyed, with the usual Gestapo figures and the routine man-hunt episodes. **Mature.**

**Frenchman's Creek**—with Joan Fontaine, Arturo de Cordova. (Paramount.) Daphne du Maurier's historical romance has been made into an elaborate film, faithful, with little modification, to the original. It is the story of an English noblewoman who flees from her husband and the London of Charles II to the Cornish coast seeking peace. Instead, she meets a French gentleman pirate, joins him as cabin boy on his Robin Hood adventures, and finally renounces him for the sake of her children. The picturesque possibilities of the tale, both as to period and situation, are fully realized in costumes, sets, and color of uncommon beauty. Slow action at some points is balanced at others by exciting blood-and-thunder episodes. The cast plays with the smooth artificiality that seems typical of period drama. **Mature.**

**San Diego, I Love You**—with Jon Hall, Louise Allbritton, Edward Everett Horton. (Universal.) In an effort to put over her father's invention—a collapsible life raft—the uninhibited heroine heads straight for San Diego's leading young capitalist, and with the help of her four little brothers gets him as both a business and a life partner. The family adventures are fresh and funny, padded out entertainingly with a visit to a zoo and a bus-ride in which driver Buster Keaton abandons his usual sordid route for a lovely interlude along the beach. The cast, except for an overrollicking handy man, is simple and happy. **Family.**

# FROM VICTORY TO PEACE

*By Paul Hutchinson*

Special Edition

Available at All Presbyterian Book Stores

**60 Cents per Copy**

Here is a book for every minister and Church member to read and to ponder, so that through its message there may be evolved a common basis for group study and discussion. The author is familiar with proposals submitted by such "realists" as Walter Lippmann, Ely Culbertson, and Sumner Welles, and he pays his respects to each of them in turn. He also knows history and interprets it with penetrating insight.

His thesis is that any consideration of a lasting peace is bound up with our concept of a lasting society. In the last analysis it is one and the same problem. He is convinced that moral law is as much a part of our universe as natural law. Therefore, the Christian Church has much at stake and has a great deal to say about peace.

The book's starting point is the statement of Christians to the leaders of the nation through the Delaware Conference, the Political Propositions of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, the Princeton Conference of International Learning, and others. The book applies these constructive statements to the most pressing issues at the heart of world order: the treatment of enemies, the relations of Western empires to peoples of color, the place of the poor in maintaining stability, and the motive of an international organization.

This significant document vigorously upholds the validity of the Christian ethic while it examines with equal vigor the problems that must be faced and firmly dealt with. It will be wise to have several copies in every church and on the shelves of the community library.

**WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT**

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

Department of Social Education and Action

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.